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may further do in other countries not quite so near. The movement is perhaps a little slow, but it has set in, and with the exercise of that patience which is one of the temperamental characteristics of our Latin-American friends we may look for a much greater share in their development by capital from the United States than in the past.

We are interested in bettering the steamship communication. We believe that while its material advantages are great by the better and quicker facilities for mail and freight which such improvement will afford, there is an even greater advantage in the closer intercourse among the different peoples which it makes possible. We believe in the era of railroad construction which has set in and which is bearing such abundant fruits, and especially in that great intercontinental project with its enormous possibilities of good, the Pan-American Railway. We believe, of course, in the Panama Canal, both as a commercial factor and as a moral force. We believe in the future development of those vast treasure beds of the Andes, the mines, and we hope to see much more of it done by our own capital. We believe in an international bank which will keep the commercial currents flowing in their proper direction. We believe in all these projects, and we believe that the countries which have these resources to develop should be aided by capital from the United States, and the United States should reap the legitimate fruits of such enterprise.

The Example which Our Nation Should Set.

BY HON. RICHARD BARTHOLDT.

Speech in the House of Representatives on the Naval Appropriation Bill, Tuesday, February 21.

Mr. Chairman: I shall vote, as I have consistently done during the last three or four Congresses, for one new battleship to take the place of the one which, according to naval experts, goes out of commission annually. I shall vote, therefore, for the maintenance of the navy at its present strength, which, in the judgment of all reasonable American citizens, is amply adequate for purposes of defense.

It was again demonstrated by the speech of the gentleman from Alabama on yesterday that the present system of armaments requires for its maintenance or enlargement the constant precipitation of war scares. The advocates of these unnecessary increases of the war machinery in this and other countries, in other words, are compelled to play constantly upon the fears of the people, that same human weakness from which results this whole unfortunate rivalry of the nations in the exhaustion of their resources for new battleships and armaments.

We have it from the State Department and from the higher authority of the President of the United States, that there is absolutely no cause for alarm, and that there is no danger from any quarter, either on the Atlantic or the Pacific side, threatening the peace and tranquillity of the United States. In the light of these assurances, it seems to me, there would be ample justification in characterizing the alarmist as an enemy of the peace of his country, and in providing by law against the precipitators of such needless alarms; but, fortunately, such a measure

is unnecessary, because the good common sense of the people usually forms the stone wall against which the efforts of the war monger, the jingo and the alarmist are vainly spent.

I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if we fully realize all the conditions to be considered in determining the question of still further enlarging our navy. Surely these conditions are not what they were ten or five or even three years ago. There are some things which all will understand the moment they occur. When, for instance, the war drum is beaten there is immediate excitement, and when victory is proclaimed there is a paroxysm of joy. Events such as these appeal to the senses, not to say the animal instincts, of man. But there are other occurrences the real significance of which is considerably slower in dawning upon the people's minds, for the reason that they can be absorbed only through the intellect. Bearing on the question of peace, which we all wish to see maintained, one side by force and the other by law, a revelation of totally changed conditions has come to the people only within the last few years. [Applause.] The world is only now beginning to realize what has really been accomplished at The Hague, namely, that a court has been established to settle all disputes between nations; not only questions specified in treaties, but all questions which governments see fit to submit. From this the simplest mind will readily infer that a general use of that court will soon result in relegating the battleships to the scrap heap, except such as may be needed to police the oceans. Furthermore, it is only a short time since that the people generally have grasped the full meaning of President Roosevelt's mediation in the Russian-Japanese war, namely, that that war, with all its atrocities and horrors, might have been wholly averted by the same method by which it was ended. The people also perceive, to their great surprise, that the rulers of Europe, though armed to their teeth, are suddenly showing an aversion to hostilities and war, so that controversies which formerly would have fairly bathed that continent in blood have been peaceably adjusted, and that with an eagerness fairly startling to the observer.

Certainly these are new conditions. But that is not all, Mr. Chairman. In place of the former independence of the several nations, we find a growing commercial and economic interdependence, and, by the way, this is, more even than the losses by wars, the true sanction of international arbitration. To-day, whatever steps are taken, whatever measures are considered by the cabinets and legislative bodies, our own included, it is done, not with an eye solely to the effect at home, but with anxious regard for the opinion of the world. In other words, we notice the governments to be no longer exclusively controlled in important matters by merely local or national influences, but to be largely swayed by international considerations.

Who will deny that these revelations have wrought a most decided change of public opinion with regard to the necessity of more battleships? Are we to respect that growing sentiment which from these considerations regards all further naval expansion as a waste of money?

Mr. Chairman, I am not dreaming the chimerical dream of the idealist who sees in the Hague Court an agency for the immediate attainment of universal peace. But neither will I be driven by or take counsel of fear. The United

States has less cause for fear than any other country on earth, and this is due, not to our thirty-three ironclads, but to our own greatness and to the good sense of other nations. [Applause.] What nation would be willing to commit suicide by attacking us? All need our breadstuffs, our oil and our cotton, and remember, also, that the will of the rulers is no longer as arbitrary as it once has been, because it is now circumscribed by the public conscience, the same enlightened sentiment which has prevented a European war for more than a generation and compelled the rulers in every more recent case of trouble to seek a peaceable solution.

As I have said before, America now has the opportunity to lead the world to either peace or war. It depends upon our vote to-day. Arrest armaments and the whole civilized world will heave a sigh of relief. It will be the beginning of the end of what has rightfully been called the "folly of nations." If we stop the others will stop, or will be forced to stop by their suffering people. Sweet words and good resolutions will not do; it is the deed, the actual example of our nation, which alone can afford the relief the world is longing for. And there is not a nation on God's footstool which is in a better position to set that example than is the United States. Do you realize that we have an interest far beyond our own military burdens in the exhaustion and despair of the millions elsewhere? Are they not our customers, and therefore is not a rise or decline of their purchasing power a matter of vital concern to us? Militarism is now consuming, aye devouring, the natural resources of the earth at the rate of two billion dollars a year, hence is impoverishing the people. America suffers under these burdens with the rest, the same as a relief from them would benefit her with the rest. But there is a higher reason which should impel us to lead in this holy cause. We should do the good for the sake of the good, and remain true to America's mission as the champion of liberty, justice and peace, and true to the motto, "Above all nations is humanity." [Loud applause.]

The Mad International Armament Race.

From the speech of Hon. James A. Tawney of Minneapolis in the House of Representatives on the Naval Appropriation Bill on February 27.

Mr. Chairman: I did not intend when I came on the floor from the committee room to say anything on the question that is now pending before the committee. But the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Hobson] made a very remarkable statement, a statement that should challenge the attention of this House as well as of the entire country, when he said to us that to pursue the policy of two battleships a year will in six years leave us with a less efficient navy than we now have. If this is true, then I submit that it is time for us to pause and consider where we are going in the expenditure of the people's money in building what he and other militarists claim would be an efficient navy, or, as I claim, in spending their money only for the purpose of competing with the nations of the world in this mad international armament race. At the present cost of construction of a single Dreadnought, we will have to spend forty million dollars a year for new ships alone in order to maintain the policy of building

and equipping two battleships each year. And yet we are told by the high priest of war on the floor of this House that, after spending that sum each year for six years more, we will have then a less efficient navy than we have at the present time.

Men talk about the necessity of this expenditure out of fear of Japan. Why, forty million dollars spent a year in this country is as much as Japan proposes to expend in the next six years on her navy! In a recent speech the Premier of Japan, Mr. Katsura, outlined the policy of his government with respect to naval expenditures. From his remarks it will be seen that the annual expenditure which it is proposed to undertake during the coming six years is only sufficient to replace such vessels in her navy as become worthless from usage. This is a conclusive answer to the arguments of the jingoes of this country, who contend that we should greatly increase the size and number of our own battleships in order to keep up the pace being set by Japan and other great nations of the world.

Those who are constantly seeking to compel this government to continue its extravagant expenditures on account of the navy have endeavored to make it appear that public sentiment in Japan is anti-American, and that every citizen of Nippon would welcome the opportunity to try his steel against so formidable an adversary as the United States. They draw their conclusions in this regard from the belligerent utterances of the yellow journals, which unfortunately have their influence in that country as in this. It is therefore interesting to note the opinion of one of the most trustworthy writers on Japanese affairs, the editor of the *Japan Mail*, who was formerly a captain in the British army, and who has been a resident of Japan for about forty years. He is also the accredited correspondent of the *London Times*, and the author of one of the most extensive and valuable historical works on Japan that has yet been published. These are his words:

"If one were deliberately to set oneself to the task of finding some evidence of Japanese designs against the Philippines, one would certainly arrive at the conclusion that there is a total absence of any testimony of the kind. We believe, for our own part, that if the Philippines were offered to Japan as a free gift to-morrow, she would hesitate to accept them, and if they were offered to her at the cost of American friendship she would treat the notion as absolutely ridiculous.

"Japan's resources are already sufficiently taxed in developing Saghalien, Chosen, Formosa and Kwantung, and it is not always remembered that these additions to the Empire or to her sphere of influence necessitate a corresponding dispersal of her forces. This is especially true of the Philippines. Their inclusion in the Japanese empire would greatly increase the latter's responsibility without any corresponding access of wealth.

"The fact is, that a more unsubstantial bugbear has never occupied the attention of intelligent people than this Philippine spectre and its California audience."

In confirmation of this opinion, I will quote the words of Count Okuma, the founder and head of the Liberal Party in Japan:

"All future expansion must be of a peaceful kind. Seizure of territory belonging to other countries, on whatever pretext it may be done, is condemned by public